

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

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PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00  
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O 122040Z SEP 78 ZFF-4  
FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2208  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK NIACT IMMEDIATE  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 PRETORIA 5380

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PDEV, PINT, SF, WA  
SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: SOUTH AFRICAN CABINET'S VIEWS ON  
WALDHEIM'S REPORT

THE FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN CABINET'S  
VIEWS ON WALDHEIM'S REPORT DELIVERED TO US THIS EVENING,  
SEPTEMBER 12, BY THE DFA.

BEGIN TEXT.

I. CESSATION OF VIOLENCE

AS INDICATED IN THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S LETTER OF 6  
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SEPTEMBER 1978 TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL, IT IS ESSENTIAL,  
IN PLANNING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROPOSAL, TO HAVE  
CLARITY ON SWAPO'S INTENTIONS. APART FROM WANTING TO KNOW  
WHETHER OR NOT SWAPO HAS UNCONDITIONALLY ACCEPTED THE PRO-  
POSAL AND IS WILLING TO COMMIT ITSELF TO THE CESSATION OF  
ALL FORMS OF VIOLENCE, HE STATED THAT THIS COMMITMENT OUGHT  
TO BE SET OUT IN WRITING AND CIRCULATED AS A DOCUMENT OF

THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT FOR ITS PART ACCEPTED THE PROPOSAL ON 25 APRIL 1978 IN ITS FINAL AND DEFINITIVE FORM. THE MINISTER ADDED THAT "WE ARE PREPARED TO ADHERE TO THAT DECISION BUT NOT TO GO ALONG WITH INTERPRETATIONS INCONSISTENT WITH THE PROPOSAL. THE PROPOSAL CANNOT, HOWEVER, BE IMPLEMENTED UNLESS ACCEPTED AND HONOURED BY ALL CONCERNED".

BEARING THIS IN MIND, AND HAVING REGARD TO THE NEED TO ESTABLISH NECESSARY CONDITIONS OF PEACE FOR THE HOLDING OF FREE ELECTIONS LEADING TO AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTED INDEPENDENCE, AN UNDERTAKING BY SWAPO THAT AT A GIVEN TIME IT WOULD CEASE ALL WARLIKE ACTS AND OPERATIONS ETC. WOULD BE WELCOMED IF IMPLEMENTED IN PRACTICE. SOUTH AFRICA FOR ITS PART HAS IN EFFECT BY ITS ACCEPTANCE OF THE PROPOSAL ALREADY GIVEN ITS POSITIVE REACTION. FURTHERMORE, IT IS WILLING TO CONFIRM THAT THE MOMENT SWAPO UNDERTAKES TO STOP VIOLENCE AND IN FACT CARRIES OUT ITS UNDERTAKING, ACTION AGAINST SWAPO BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES WOULD CEASE.

WITHIN 48 HOURS OF THE DELIVERY OF A WRITTEN DECLARATION BY SWAPO, ALL SOUTH AFRICAN COMMANDERS OF THE MILITARY AND PARA-MILITARY FORCES AND OTHER ARMED PERSONNEL

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WOULD CEASE ALL WARLIKE ACTS AND OPERATIONS AGAINST SWAPO. FURTHERMORE, THEY WILL ENSURE THAT ALL COMMANDERS WILL FROM THAT TIME ONWARDS ENFORCE AND MAINTAIN CESSATION OF ALL SUCH ACTS BY PERSONNEL UNDER THEIR COMMAND, PROVIDED THE CEASE-FIRE IS NOT BROKEN BY SWAPO. THE SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES IN ANY CASE DO NOT AND WILL NOT ENGAGE IN ACTS OF VIOLENCE AND ACTS OF INTIMIDATION AGAINST ANY INHABITANTS OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SUCH A CEASE-FIRE IS AN ESSENTIAL PRE-REQUISITE FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROPOSAL SET OUT IN SECURITY COUNCIL DOCUMENT NO. S/12636 OF 10 APRIL 1978.

## II. OUTSTANDING ISSUES

IN THE MEANTIME A COPY OF THE LETTER ADDRESSED ON 8 SEPTEMBER BY SWAPO TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL HAS BEEN RECEIVED. WHILE IT SAYS THAT "IN GENERAL, SWAPO, HAVING STUDIED THIS REPORT (THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S REPORT TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL), WISHES TO DECLARE ITS SUPPORT FOR THE SAME", IT CONTINUES THAT THERE ARE, HOWEVER, SOME

SPECIFIC AREAS OF CONCERN WHICH ARE SET OUT LATER IN THE LETTER. IT ADDS THAT "OUR SUPPORT FOR THIS REPORT IS THEREFORE BASED ON THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THE AREAS OF CONCERN WOULD BE OVERCOME". THIS CREATES THE IMPRESSION THAT SWAPO'S SUPPORT OR ACCEPTANCE OF THE REPORT IS CONDITIONAL. FURTHERMORE, SWAPO'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE PROPOSAL OF THE FIVE ALSO APPEARS TO BE DOUBTFUL. IN PARAGRAPH 9 OF THE LETTER IT IS STATED THAT "SWAPO SUPPORTED AND ENCOURAGED ITS FRIENDS AND SUPPORTERS, AFRICAN AND NON-AFRICAN, TO GO ALONG WITH THE ADOPTION OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 431". DOES THIS MEAN THAT SWAPO HAS IN FACT ACCEPTED THE PROPOSAL?

WHAT IS MORE DISTURBING IS THAT IN SPITE OF SWAPO'S  
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LETTER, REFERRED TO ABOVE, IT IS CONTINUING ITS CAMPAIGN OF TERROR AND DESTRUCTION. ONLY YESTERDAY SWAPO TERRORISTS SABOTAGED THE TELEPHONE LINE BETWEEN OSHIKANGO AND ONDANGWA.

IN THE COURSE OF THERECENT DISCUSSIONS WITH THE FIVE, SUBSTANTIAL DEVIATIONS FROM THEIR PROPOSAL IN THE REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL WERE RAISED. THESE MATTERS ARE FULLY SET OUT IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN FOREIGN MINISTER'S LETTER OF 6 SEPTEMBER 1978 TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL WHICH WAS CIRCULATED AS SECURITY COUNCIL DOCUMENT S/12836.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 PRETORIA 5380

DURING THE DISCUSSIONS IN NEW YORK THE FIVE SUGGESTED THAT IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE FOR THE SECRETARY-GENERAL EITHER TO AMEND HIS REPORT OR BY WAY OF A CLARIFYING STATEMENT ALLAY SOUTH AFRICA'S ANXIETIES ON THE SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF THE U.N. MILITARY COMPONENT, CONSULTATION WITH THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL, THE U.N. CIVIL POLICE, THE TIMING OF ELECTIONS AND THE DATE OF INDEPENDENCE. IT WAS, FOR EXAMPLE, SAID THAT IF A CEASE-FIRE WERE ESTABLISHED THE SECRETARY-GENERAL MIGHT BE ABLE TO INDICATE THAT THE UNTAG COMPLEMENT COULD BE REDUCED IN CONSEQUENCE THEREOF. FROM THE SOUTH AFRICAN SIDE IT WAS INTIMATED THAT THIS WOULD BE HELPFUL PROVIDED IT WAS INDICATED AT THE SAME TIME THAT THERE WOULD BE CONSULTATION WITH THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL ON THE ACTUAL FIGURE.  
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BEARING THIS IN MIND THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S ENVISAGED "INTRODUCTORY REMARKS" WHEN PRESENTING HIS REPORT IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL, HAVE BEEN CAREFULLY STUDIED.

THE REFERENCES TO THE SIZE OF UNTAG ARE NOT REASSURING. WHILE A CASE IS BEING MADE OUT FOR THE FIGURE OF 7500 MENTIONED IN THE REPORT, ON THE GROUNDS THAT IT IS "AN ESTIMATE BASED UPON RELIABLE PROFESSIONAL JUDGEMENT AT THE TIME OF THE SURVEY...", THE ONLY GUARDED IMPLIED LIMITATION WOULD APPEAR TO BE THAT "THE MILITARY COMPONENT WILL BE INTRODUCED BY STAGES AND ITS ACTUAL SIZE AT ANY TIME WILL DEPEND UPON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE GENERAL SITUATION WHICH THE SECRETARY-GENERAL WILL KEEP UNDER CONSTANT REVIEW". FURTHERMORE THERE IS NO SUGGESTION THAT THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL WOULD BE CONSULTED IN THE DETERMINATION OF THE ACTUAL SIZE. THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT THEREFORE SEES LITTLE HOPE OF A SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTION IN THE FIGURE ENVISAGED IN THE REPORT. IT SIMPLY MEANS THAT THE SECRETARY-GENERAL WILL, ACCORDING TO HIS OWN JUDGMENT, DETERMINE THE SIZE OF THE MILITARY COMPONENT AND COULD CONCEIVABLY EVEN RECOMMEND AN INCREASE IN THE FIGURE PRESENTLY ENVISAGED. SINCE, DURING THE DISCUSSIONS THE FIVE NEVER

SUGGESTED A FIGURE HIGHER THAN 3000 AND SOUTH AFRICA FOR ITS PART HAD INDICATED THAT IT MIGHT BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT A FIGURE NOT EXCEEDING 2000, IT WOULD BE APPRECIATED THAT IT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE FOR SOUTH AFRICA TO AGREE TO A MILITARY COMPONENT WHICH IN FACT WOULD VIRTUALLY AMOUNT TO AN OPERATIONAL PEACE-KEEPING FORCE OR EVEN AN OCCUPATION FORCE.

THE PROPOSED REFERENCE TO THAT PORTION OF THE REPORT ENVISAGING A "U.N. CIVIL POLICE" COMPONENT IS SOMEWHAT RECONFIDENTIAL

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ASSURING. THE SOUTH AFRICAN AUTHORITIES WELCOME THE INDICATION THAT "FOR REASONS OF SAFETY AND EFFECTIVENESS THESE TASKS (ACCOMPANYING THE EXISTING POLICE FORCES WHEN APPROPRIATE) WOULD BEST BE PERFORMED BY CIVILIAN PERSONNEL WHO ARE PROFESSIONALLY QUALIFIED". UNFORTUNATELY NO REFERENCE IS MADE TO A POSSIBLE REDUCTION OF THE FIGURE OF 360 WHICH, AS HAD PREVIOUSLY BEEN INDICATED, IS CONSIDERED UNNECESSARILY LARGE.

THE REFERENCE TO THE TIME-TABLE IN THE ENVISAGED CLARIFYING STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL IS DISAPPOINTING. THE COURSE FORESHADOWED IN THIS REFERENCE DOES NOT OFFER ANY REAL HOPE THAT IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO REACH CONSENSUS ON THE TIMING OF ELECTIONS AND THE DATE OF INDEPENDENCE. IN FACT, IT CREATES THE IMPRESSION THAT THE DATE OF THE ELECTIONS IS NOT IMPORTANT. IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT THE PROPOSAL OF THE FIVE SPECIFICALLY PROVIDES FOR INDEPENDENCE AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE, AND IN ANY CASE NOT LATER THAN 31 DECEMBER, AND ALSO IN VIEW OF THE RELEVANT FACTS SET OUT IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN FOREIGN MINISTER'S LETTER TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL, IT WILL BE REALISED THAT THE QUESTION OF TIME AND TIMING HAS NOW BECOME VITALLY IMPORTANT. NO-ONE HAS THE RIGHT TO THWART THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA AND TO DELAY THE PROCESS LEADING TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE.

THE QUESTION WHICH IS BEING RAISED WITH INCREASING INSISTENCE IS: WHO REALLY REPRESENTS THE PEOPLE OF THE TERRITORY? THIS ITSELF ADDS ANOTHER PRESSING REASON WHY ELECTIONS CANNOT BE DELAYED MUCH LONGER. THE TIME HAS COME FOR THE PEOPLE TO ELECT REPRESENTATIVES WHO CAN AUTHORITATIVELY SPEAK ON THEIR BEHALF.

WHILE THE EFFORTS OF THE FIVE TO BRIDGE THE DIFFERENCES ARISING FROM THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S REPORT ARE APPRECIATED, IT MUST BE CLEAR FROM THE FOREGOING THAT THERE  
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IS VERY LITTLE REASSURANCE FOR THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH WEST AFRICAN IN THE ENVISAGED INTRODUCTORY REMARKS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL. REGRETTABLY THEY WOULD NOT FACILITATE ACCEPTANCE BY SOUTH AFRICA OF THE REPORT.

SINCE FURTHER DELAYS MIGHT LEAD TO GREATER UNCERTAINTY AND CHAOS IN SOUTH WEST AFRICA, AN URGENT INTIMATION FROM THE FIVE WHETHER THEY STILL BELIEVE THAT THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S REPORT CAN BE BROUGHT INTO LINE WITH THEIR FINAL AND DEFINITIVE PROPOSAL WOULD BE APPRECIATED. END TEXT  
EDMONDSON

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## Message Attributes

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